474 313 the bulk marketing and better bargaining power of the cooperative. In 1941 it was claimed that a considerable number of the individuals working in the woods had signed up, as well as some men in the town who wished to indicate their support of the idea although not themselves forest workers.

474 Two things were said to be holding up the completion of the organization of the cooperative. The first was the necessity of raising enough capital to pay advances to the members when they deposited their products with the cooperative for marketing. The second was the refusal of the *representante* to sign the necessary papers. According to Velásquez, this refusal was not because the *representante* disapproved of the idea, but because he felt many people in town were opposed and he did not wish to sign the papers counter to their wishes. As the signature of the *representante* was not absolutely essential, the organization probably was completed without his approval.

It may be noted that the cooperative had nearly come to grief in its early days through an action by the *presidente militar* imposed after the 1937 *zafarrancho*. The military governor had ordered posts cut for the installation of the electric lighting system without securing a permit from the Department of Forestry. The Forestry officials had blamed [687] this on the cooperative, levied a thousand peso fine, and threatened to revoke the permit of the organization. This had been cleared up, and it was rumored that the former military governor was going to have to pay the fine—which may very much be doubted.

575 794 578 668 A number of other organizations of a religious nature exist and will be dealt with later. Potentially most influential in political matters are the church societies such as those of the Sacred Heart, the Third Order of Saint Francis, and others. In Cherán in 1940, it was difficult to learn much about these. The meetings were private, and secrecy had been impressed on the members. There is very little doubt that a new priest who took over the parish late in 1940 was utilizing these organizations to undermine the existing liberal political order in Cherán. Trouble was brewing in Cherán on the religious and political front and there is little doubt that it was being con-

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
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575 794 668 578 sciously fostered by some elements in the Church, probably the same groups fostering the Sinarquista movement in the adjoining region of the Bajío north of Tarascan territory.[32] Additional data on the change in attitude of the church in Cherán will be presented under religion.

CONFLICT AND LAW

578 [186] The people of Cherán are very reticent about conflicts within the town. Efforts are made to convince the outsider that the town is a harmonious unit, and it is very difficult to secure data to the contrary. The impression, after many months in Cherán, is that a great deal of hostility underlies the apparent harmony. In part, this is apparent in the prevalence of witchcraft and some of the evidence is presented under that heading. Interfamily and intrafamily jealousies and conflicts, however carefully concealed, cropped up time and again in casual remarks. Nevertheless, little definite information could be secured. Any efforts to pick up the small leads occurring in conversation were usually adroitly countered. Consequently, the material presented in this section consists primarily of the more overt conflicts which, under certain circumstances, lead to official interference.

578 626 A great variety of minor conflicts constantly reach the office of the mayor. Many of these never pass the stage of discussion and informal settlement. For example, a man had been drunk all week, insulting people indiscriminately. One man finally struck the drunkard. The case was discussed at length. Some argued that the drunkard should be arrested. Others claimed that both should be arrested. Ultimately, nothing was done, but as anyone present in the *municipio* could enter the discussion, word probably got around to both parties. The drunkard's relatives probably restrained him and the man giving the blows kept out of sight.

695 685 Another case illustrates the handling of minor offenses. A woman was brought before the acting mayor (the mayor's alternate), charged with stealing a blanket from a man while he was drunk. The woman was accused vigorously by the acting mayor but denied the

[32] Evidence for this statement cannot be given at this time.

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583 to marry the girl by a certain date. He failed
684 to do so, as he wished to marry another girl and knew also that the girl laying the charges visited a house of assignation. He was thrown in jail. Later, his mother went his bond and he was released. The boy fled town and had not returned several months later. His mother was put in jail overnight but was released the next day.

123 The preceding discussion is a very unsatis-
671 factory treatment of conflict situations and law. Information on the unformalized personal and familial conflicts is very scanty. Intimate day to day knowledge of households which would produce such information is extremely difficult to secure in Cherán. On the other hand, not enough detailed material was secured on the types of conflicts reaching the *municipio* to make possible any adequate statement regarding legal concepts. In theory, the law in Cherán is Mexican law. Enough examples have perhaps been given to indicate that much of the justice dispensed in the *municipio* is according to informal and generally accepted rules. Only observation of a very large number of cases would permit abstracting the principles on which action is based.

RELIGION AND CEREMONIAL

794 priest. The Mass, Rosary, confession, baptism,
796 confirmation, and so on all fall in this category. A more or less conventional church organization headed by a priest is almost solely responsible for these ceremonies. Associated with
575 this part of the religious organization are the various societies, such as those of the Sacred Heart, Daughters of Mary, Apostles of Saint Joseph, and the Third Order of Saint Francis. Linked with the church organization in part is the *cabildo* or the aces.

796 Forming a mixture of church and community
527 ceremonials are the fiestas. The organization of fiestas is related to the political organization and, aside from the Mass and strictly church rituals, the fiestas are essentially secular celebrations centering round a religious object.

796 The *mayordomías* are the third important type of religious ceremony and are connected with the church through the *carguero* system and

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[p.119a]

793 tributions. For some time before this visit, rockets were fired off at noon and at 3 p. m. and the church bells were rung about 3:45 p. m.
[783] This was to call people to confess in anticipation of the Bishop's visit.

575 Another activity, about which little is known, is in connection with the various societies. As
794 indicated previously, there seems to be a degree of secrecy about the functions of these groups; undoubtedly they are primarily religious. For example, on January 3, the day of the Sacred Heart, members of the Society of the Sacred Heart spent the day in church. They wore red bands about their necks with ornaments of red ribbons and spent much of their time kneeling and in group prayers led by a maestro or lay reader. There is also reason to believe that the new priest, at least, used these groups for political purposes. Scarcely a day passed without one group or the other being summoned to a meeting at church by means of special signals on the church bells.

The majority of the people in town belong to one society or another. Rarely or never do they belong to two. The societies of Saint Joseph and of Mary are for boys and girls, respectively; when they marry they are dropped from membership. Adults belong to the other societies. Membership is by invitation only. Each society has a board of directors (*mesa directiva*) which issues the invitations. All meetings are held in the church or in the priest's quarters.

794 There can be little doubt that Cherán is a
578 strongly Catholic community. During the
798 height of the conflict between the Church and the Government, when priests were forbidden to officiate and the churches were closed,[34] Cherán residents underwent considerable risk to bring a priest to the town periodically. Many of the services were held in a private house belonging to a certain Cherán resident who was later in bitter conflict with the new priest who arrived in 1940. The minority in the town
794 who were opposed to Church domination in
578 political affairs did not dare to speak openly. Quotation of a statement given me by one of

[34] It will be recalled that this restriction was imposed when the Church refused to permit priests to obey the new laws requiring them to register. The real point of the conflict, of course, was in these aspects of the laws which prohibited Church schools and stripped the Church of all economic rights.

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the close interrelation of civil and religious offices. These basic traits are well documented for Michoacan. The economic aspects have been mentioned previously. The political-religious organization will presently be examined and the organization of the hospitales as they actually functioned will be sketched on the basis of eighteenth century reports,[19] but also using survivals into modern times.

Besides the hospital proper to take care of the sick, there seems to have been a building called the *guatapera* (Spanish from Tarascan) where the communal work, mainly cooking, was done to attend to the various needs of the establishment, and a chapel of the Virgin of the Conception, patroness of the hospital.

The cult of the Virgin and other religious activities were the most important functions of the hospital. From this is derived the Tarascan name for hospital, *iuɹiso* (Virgin's chapel). As Quiroga provided, a sodality *(cofradía)* attended to her cult.

Cofradías are societies of the faithful devoted, organized to attend to some aspect of cult or charity. They formed an important part of the cult organization in Spain and were introduced into Spanish America. In one form or another they have left an imprint on modern Indian-Spanish cultures.

This sodality of the Virgin was the dominant element of the hospital in the eighteenth century, and all others were subordinate to it. Reports from that period more often called the whole organization 'cofradía of the Virgin' than hospital. It can be said that at that time hospital was not that all-embracing institution Quiroga had planned, but rather a sodality for the cult of the Virgin which also took care of the sick and had other secondary activities.

An important characteristic of the hospital in Michoacan was its all-inclusive nature. The cofradía was not a restricted group of people within the community, as was the case in Spanish and a few Indian settlements, but the whole Indian village formed the brotherhood. Thus, it was really the main, although not the only, village organization to provide for religious activities.

The function of the hospital was to finance and organize the cult of the Virgin, although it also participated in other celebrations. For this purpose it depended on cofradía property, individual contributions from members at large and officials in particular. The officials took care of the com-

19. See discussion of sources in the Introduction.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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mon property of the cofradía, collected contributions and made their own donations. Thus they financed and organized the main religious festivals of the community and attended to the upkeep of the priest and his household. The function of taking care of the sick, which can be supposed to have given the name to *hospital*, was still met in some villages but not mentioned in others, and seems to have been of relatively lesser importance. More important was attending to the proper burial of the dead and holding mass for their souls.

The hospital had a number of yearly elected officers. The *prioste* was the head authority. He took care of the festivals of the Virgin and prayed for the masses for the dead. Under him was the *mayordomo del hospital*, or in Tarascan, *kéŋi*. He shared with the prioste the charge of the festivals of the Virgin and as head of the *semaneros* took care of the material side of the organization. The semaneros, or weekly officers, were Indians from every section of the village who attended the hospital by turns weekly and attended to preparing food and taking care of the sick.

To care for the Virgin there were a number of female officers, sometimes young girls, other times older women; they were most commonly called *roseras* (Spanish) or *huananches* (Spanish from Tarascan), although other names were used depending on their specific duties. They took care of the image and altar of the Virgin, carried the image and banners in processions, and provided flowers, candles and incense.

These officers were found in most villages for which there is information.[20] Many differences in detail existed from town to town, mainly in the particular festival each one of these officers sponsored and in the nature of the contributions to any given festival. The officers attended to the festivals of the Virgin such as Conception, Asumption, and Candlemas, and also to weekly Saturday services followed by a procession of the image through the courtyard. They also intervened in the organization and financing of other festivals, mainly Holy Week and Christmas. The hospital officers were the main contributors for the support of the priest, and they were also in charge of collecting and taking the contributions from the rest of the village to the priest.

20. Modern data from Cherán (Beals, 1946, 133), Pichátaro (León, 1908, 425), and Jarácuaro (field notes), show another officer called colector as the main authority, superior to the prioste. He is not mentioned in older reports.

2:Carrasco E-4, 5 (1945)1952
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175 794 575 1 624 Besides the cargueros of the hospital there were other religious officers. Sodalities other than those of the hospitales with funds for the cult were rare, and existed only in very few towns. But as a rule there were also other sponsors of festivals to saints not connected with the hospital. Common to all villages were several sponsors (*capitanes, fiesteros,* or other names) who organized the festival to the patron saint, and danced as Moors and Christians.

Other cargueros also sponsored the cult of different saints, every village having different devotions. Minor offices were those of sexton (*fiscal,* Spanish) and a *petájpi* (Tarascan) who was second to him. Also many villages gave personal service to the priest for the upkeep of his household, so that different villagers acted as doorkeeper, groom or errand boy, and some of the women cleaned house and cooked.

175 794 651 Financing the cult involved payment of alms, fees to the Church, and the upkeep of the priest and the cult (wax, ornaments, wafers and wine, etc.) and also the expenses involved in folk ceremonial elements such as the dancers' costumes, banqueting, and other entertainments like fireworks and bull fighting. Church fees were fixed by the Bishop and were called *arancel* (book of rates). They were primarily for mass and the administration of the sacraments. In Michoacan every village had an arancel of its own called *pindecuario* (local Spanish, from Tarascan *pindékua,* custom); besides those fees, the contributions for the support of the priest were mentioned. These were often in kind and were periodical, frequently coinciding with the main festivals. As long as the union of Church and State lasted, these aranceles had also the approval of the civil authorities.

Financing was obtained from three main sources: the communal property of the hospital (and other cofradías if any), whose produce was destined to finance religion; individual contributions and alms from all the villagers; and personal contributions from the cargueros.

175 743 423 575 794 In the eighteenth century, many of the hospitales had property devoted to the support of their activities. Most generally this was in the form of cattle pastured on the village commons. One of the cargueros or a cowboy was in charge of these cattle and received the milk as a personal reward. In other cases, land was also owned by the hospital and worked in common, or more often rented. In one case the hospital

175 owned a sugar press and a flour mill.[21] When the village's hospital had good property, this financed not only the cult and fiesta expenses but also other duties of the hospital officers, such as caring for the sick and paying for masses of the dead. In addition, the cargueros could use this same source of income to provide food for the villagers at some of the festivals.[22] One village had a cofradía in order to pay the *pindecuario* and another one to pay for the sick and for burials.[23] Some towns had more than one cofradía or *hermandad*[24] besides that of the Conception of the hospital.

In villages with rich property and in which other expenses were met by small contributions from all, cult upkeep was not a financial burden.[25] However, where the cofradías had no property or not enough to meet expenses, upkeep of the cult by heavy personal contributions placed a financial burden on the villagers. In Amatlan, Indian poverty was attributed to heavy services for the priest, in spite of the fact that there were two cofradías with their own property. In Tancítaro the hospital had lost property and the Indians paid from their personal resources, causing the decline of the hospital although it was once very prosperous.[26] In the region north of the Sierra where haciendas were already important and the Indian speech was beginning to recede,[27] the cofradías of the hospital owned no property *(fondos)* from which they could meet their expenses.[28]

175 The financial obligations of the cargos were specially onerous and sometimes led the carguero to peonage. In *Tangancícuaro*, the prioste became "almost a slave, hiring himself out as a muleteer servant [sirviente de recua]",[29] in Guarachita "very impoverished and sometimes almost like a slave in a hacienda".[30] In Jiquilpan, the mayordomos of different saints bound *(cautivan)* themselves for a long time in order to retrieve what they had spent.[31] On the other hand, in Tangamandapio and Taripo, a number of fiestas were no longer held because of the poverty of the people.[32]

21. Tacámbaro (Osbourn Ms.).
22. Huetamo, Cutzeo (Osbourn Ms.).
23. Amatlan (Osbourn Ms.).
24. Apatzingán, Tacámbaro, La Guacana, Churumuco (Osbourn Ms.).
25. For instance Huetamo, Cutzeo (Osbourn Ms.).
26. Osbourn Ms.
27. Some towns in this area, like Sahuayo and Guarachita, were of Nahuatl speech but their culture seems to have been similar to that of neighboring Tarascan speaking villages.
28. Estado, 1944, passim.
29. *Ibid.*, 475.
30. *Ibid.*, 480.
31. Osbourn Ms.
32. Estado, 1944, 477, 479.